

NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR

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Every thoughtful person must realize that the continuance of the capitalist system is incompatible with the continuance of civilization. It is as clear as noonday that, if this system survives, the late war must be succeeded by other wars, which will be even more destructive in proportion as they are more scientific. A few more such conflicts must put an end to everything that has made European races of importance to the world. . . .

Thus capitalism has lost all the merits by which, in the past, it sought to commend itself to the average man. Through trusts and intimate union with the state, capitalism has succeeded in destroying almost all vestiges of freedom. Through control of education and the press, it has made democracy a farce. Through national rivalries, it has made peace and progress impossible except by its overthrow. . . .

WHO COULD SUM UP so well the situation now gripping the world—the United States not excepted? Was it Lenin? Was it some pre-Stalin Bolshevik in the days when Bolshevism was synonymous with living Marxism? No! It was none other than Bertrand Russell who gave us this estimate only eighteen months after the armistice of the last war to make the world safe for democracy and ? months before the next war to make the world safe for democracy.

The Peace of Munich, the subsequent accelerated universal rush to arms, the headlong dash to another world war, the sweep of fascism with the aid of the so-called democracies, the continuous economic crises and everything important which has happened in the last eighteen years have confirmed this analysis, this verdict of condemnation.

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This is the fundamental viewpoint of the Independent Labor League of America. All our critical examinations and all our everyday practical activities in the factories, among the unemployed, in the labor unions, in the developing labor parties, in strikes, in antiwar activities, have convinced us and made us feel strongly about the correctness of this estimate, perspective, and objective.

The enormity of the crisis at home and abroad, all are agreed upon today. That it is a crisis amidst plenty, almost all are agreed upon. Nearly all would agree that some serious changes in our ways are necessary. The question of the roads to take is, of course, quite a different problem—a hornet's nest of differences. But today all such agreements are insufficient. The world simply cannot go on from crisis to crisis ever worse, from hunger to efficiency to worse hunger, and from war to war ever "bigger and better."

It is imperative that we look into the why and wherefore of these constantly recurring crises and wars. All sorts of remedies have been proposed to meet this critical situation. Sundry superficial social reforms embodied in the New Deal, reduction of production, unemployment, still higher tariffs, devalued currencies, planned destruction of products, lowered standards of living, fascization of government machinery, outright adoption of fascism, sky-high armaments and wars, and prayers for peace and prosperity are among the "solutions" offered to invigorate and stabilize the decaying social order. But what we need is a major surgical operation. It is the entire system which is fatally ill—with millions of men permanently disemployed and billions of dollars invested in engines of destruction during brightest prosperity days as well as in bleakest depression.

ROOTS OF WORLD CRISIS

How come this world crisis? The process of decay of the socio-economic order—capitalism—is brought into bold relief by the historical transformation of what was once its source of *greatest strength* into the source of its *greatest weakness*. Productivity, but yesterday the source of the *upbuilding* of capitalism, has become the primary source of the economic *undermining* of capitalism. The historic words of Marx now assume world-shaking significance:

Given machinery gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, yet, we behold it starving and overworking human labor. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange, weird spell are turned into sources of want. . . . At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men, or to its own infamy. . . . All our inventions and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force. (*Communist Manifesto.*)

The very development and growth of capitalism has meant the development and growth of its inherent contradictions. Thus, the growing mass production, *social* in character, comes into ever sharper conflict with the growing *private* appropriation evidenced in the increasing concentration of capital. There is a growing gap between the *productive capacities* and the *possibilities for consumption* afforded the exploited workers. The greater the *efficiency* of the workers, the manual and mental producers, under present-day capitalism, the greater tends to be the *deficiency* in consumption for these workers. In details, production is being ever more planned by *private* employers and giant corporations for private profit. At the same time, production is becoming more intensely competitive, planless, and chaotic in the general or *social* sense. While the conflict be-

tween the exploiters and the exploited at home—the class struggle—becomes more acute, the antagonisms among the imperialist powers in the world market lead to increasingly sharper struggles—wars of infernal dimensions.

The very integration of capitalism into a world system has intensified and extended its organic disequilibrium. Side by side with a growing *rentier* or coupon-clipping class is the growing army of no occupation—an army of workers displaced by machines, permanently disemployed, not only expropriated of some of their products, but denied even a mere place in the productive process, economically totally disinherited, socially pauperized, and politically subjected. In the biggest and richest capitalist countries the pauperized proletariat runs into many millions:

Throughout capitalism the worker is becoming a pauper, and pauperism is increasing even more rapidly than population and wealth. This plainly shows that the bourgeoisie is no longer fitted to be the ruling class in society or to impose its own social system as supreme law for society at large. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to provide security for its slaves, even within the confines of their slavish existence. (Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*.)

Furthermore, a terrific break has been made in the international capitalist order; a gaping hole has been torn in the capitalist economic pattern by the victorious working-class revolution in Russia, by the establishment of the U.S.S.R. There has been inflicted a mortal wound on the capitalist world market through the rising tides of discontent in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination. Evidence of the growing instability of capitalism is manifested in the character of the entire international situation today: the war in the Far East, the collapse of the Versailles system, the blessed rape of Czechoslovakia, Hitler's

dream of expanding his empire eastward at the expense of the Soviet Union, the vast preparations for the coming holocaust.

The growing incapacity of capitalism to satisfy even the most elementary demands of the workers tends to make the class relations more antagonistic and undermines parliamentary democracy as an effective instrument of bourgeois class rule. To ward off the menace of growing working-class consciousness, to help stabilize their system, the capitalist class is being compelled to resort increasingly to an uncamouflaged and open brutal dictatorship and terror—the regime of fascism. The growth of the fascist system, aiming to stabilize, to perpetuate the class supremacy of the bourgeoisie, is living proof of the growing shakiness and instability of certain national economic sectors of capitalism. This is the soil in which capitalist reaction in general and fascism in particular have been making such rapid headway.

Because of the gravity of these fundamental features of the present antisocial order, we propose a fundamental social change—a revolution in the social, economic, and political relations of society. We want a society free from the inherent weaknesses of capitalism and yet able to take over and utilize its great positive contributions to history, its strong sides, for the benefit of society as a whole rather than in behalf of any select individuals, special group, or privileged class. This cannot be achieved by patchwork on the present antisocial system. We have patched too long already.

WE WANT A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

What we want is socialism—a socialist society. This will be a social economic system which will be characterized by the following features:

1. The means of production and exchange that are used collectively and socially are to be controlled and owned collectively and socially. Thus there will be removed the contradiction between private ownership and social use of the machinery of production and exchange. The latter will be operated collectively as today but for social use instead of private profit.

2. Production being conducted on a collective, social, and not private competitive basis can then be planned socially—can be centrally and scientifically directed for society. Thus there will be eliminated the crises of starvation amidst plenty.

3. In this fashion there will also be removed the objective basis, the economic foundations, of the conflict between owners and workers, between the capitalist class and the working class. This will mean an end of class struggles and class society.

4. With the elimination of conflict over profits at home and abroad, there will be wiped out the causes, the roots, of economic antagonisms and imperialist wars. None can deny the organic connection between the trench lines of 1914 and the bread lines of 1932, between the armies of no occupation in the richest capitalist lands in 1938 and the armies of occupation in the coming world war, in 1939 or soon after.

In many ways the economy being constructed in the U.S.S.R. is based on the above principles. That is why the U.S.S.R. has been able to achieve so much progress in so short a time in the economic, social, and cultural fields. But we vigorously stress that we do not propose to take the Russian experience as a blueprint. There will be much that is different in the building of a socialist system in our own country. We particularly underscore the fact that we do not seek a political structure patterned after the Stalin regime. The govern-

mental machinery for constructing socialism in the United States will have to be completely free from the costly mistakes and bloody terror of the Stalin dictatorship. In many respects, which cannot now be indicated concretely, it will be much different from the Russian process even at its best, because of the historical, traditional, social, and economic differences between the two countries.

Capitalism, the bourgeois Weltanschauung, capitalist relations of a million and sundry sorts, cannot be abolished at one fell swoop. The building of a socialist society, the development toward full communism, is not a one-act performance. It is a long, difficult, often very complicated, process of gradually uprooting the old, historically useless, and replacing it with the new, historically useful. How deep and extensive are the changes required for a socialist society were well indicated some decades ago by Engels when he said:

Just as the peasants and the manufacturing workers of the past century had to change their whole mode of living, had to become entirely different men when they were pulled into big industry, so will the common administration of production by society as a whole and the resulting new development of production need and produce different men. (Frederick Engels, *Principles of Communism*.)

A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—THE FIRST PREREQUISITE

Before society can begin gradually to evolve new and higher forms of making a living, and living, certain prerequisites must first be met. This evolution of socialism can begin, in a social, economic, and political sense, only after there has been a revolution—that is, after there has been a transfer of economic and political

power from the present ruling class to the present ruled and exploited class. The working class is the one class today whose interest it is to end all exploitation. Therefore, it is the historically progressive class capable of serving as the dynamic and decisive force for ending all class society. Such a new society cannot be legislated into life through a single sweeping measure or a whole series of reform measures. This would presuppose a partnership of classes, a community of interest between the exploited and the exploiters. What happened in Germany is the inexorable result of such class collaboration policies pursued by the Social-democratic movement there. What is now happening in France—devitalizing of the labor movement, systematic destruction of the great social gains won through the mighty extra-parliamentary actions of the workers in 1934, increasing curtailment of democratic rights—flows from the class partnership policy of the People's Front pursued by the Socialist and Communist parties there.

In order to replace the present capitalist system by a socialist order, the working class must take over political power by setting up a workers' government—a government of, by, and for the working people. In fighting for political power, the workers must be ready to use any means that may prove necessary and effective and disregard the hypocritical restrictions set up for them by the ruling class. The setting up of a workers' government is, therefore, the first prerequisite for beginning systematically and gradually to build a genuine socialist society. This will be a new type of state based on the council system, on the great organizations of labor, on production. This will be a workers' state—directed by the working class in alliance with the working farmers—with rigidity of purpose but with flexibility of method.

What we have today in all capitalist countries is one or another form of rule by the biggest bourgeoisie—a class dictatorship of the small minority of the “haves” over the overwhelming majority of the manual and mental workers, the “have-nots.” Let no one be fooled by the paeans of praise of parliamentary democracy now being sung by Stalin and Chamberlain, by Browder and Vandenberg, by Roosevelt and Baruch. Bertrand Russell once very accurately described this setup as follows:

What is called the rule of the majority in a bourgeois democracy is, therefore, in reality, the rule of those who control the methods of manufacturing opinion, especially in the schools and press. . . . The Bolsheviks are right in maintaining that bourgeois democracy is a trick by which the victims are induced to pronounce their own condemnation, in order to minimize the force required for carrying it out. (*The Liberator*, May 1920, p. 11.)

What we propose is the establishment in the transition period between the capitalist and socialist societies of a workers' state—a dictatorship of, by, and for the workers, but free from the errors and terrors of Stalinism.

The winning of power by the workers will not be a cakewalk. We know what it often takes to win even a simple strike for a small wage increase, for shorter hours, or even for limited union recognition. We do not advocate violence, but we do advocate the highest organization of the working class and all its allies so as to insure the minimum amount of force—regardless of its origin—accompanying the profound social change.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS AND ULTIMATE AIMS

In order to win the manual and mental workers to this ideal and goal of a new social order, in order to

enable the workers to become sufficiently strong to begin building a socialist system, we propose a preparatory, an immediate, program of action. Our program for organizing labor to fight for its immediate everyday needs—our tactical program, our strategic course—is organically bound up with our ultimate program, with our principles. There is not the slightest conflict between fighting for immediate interests on the one hand and developing higher social aspirations and striving for ultimate ends on the other hand. Quite the contrary is the case. Unless labor is able to build a movement to fight effectively for the improvement of its everyday conditions, for the meeting of its elementary needs, it will not be able to raise its demands to higher levels, to learn from experience the true and hopeless character of the present economic system.

A working class that has no unions and political organizations to fight for better working conditions and social legislation today, will not be strong enough to abolish the antisocial economic system and to build a socialist society tomorrow. A working class which has not learned the need of fighting for a program of social legislation can never learn the need of fighting for replacing the present system with a new social order. A working class which is not strong enough to defend its own everyday interests—regardless of how small these may be—can never be strong enough to win the farmers and other middle-class forces to follow its lead in a fight against big capital and for a new social system.

To develop this necessary independence and strength of labor defending its positions of today and extending and enhancing its positions of tomorrow, the Independent Labor League of America proposes the following strategy of organization, tactics, and immediate program of action:

1. FOR POWERFUL PROGRESSIVE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

We hold that the trade unions serve as the first means, the primary school as it were, for bringing the workers to a consciousness of their class position. The labor unions through their strike struggles in defense of the workers' economic interests are the elementary schools of proletarian class-consciousness. We are for the organization of workers, especially in the mass-production industries, into industrial unions.

Experience has taught us with special force that, if the unions are to fulfill their tasks, they must never be made dependent upon, subsidiary to, or auxiliaries of any political party. To make the labor unions so dependent in any shape, manner, or form is to deal them a death blow. That is why we have fought the Communist party's making the Fur Workers' Union its virtual auxiliary and the Stalinites forcing upon the Detroit District Council of the United Automobile Workers of America a decision to indorse the *Midwest Record*, a Communist party daily paper, as the union's official organ. Here we differ violently with the entire Stalinite conception of the relations between trade unions and political organizations, and with their evaluation of the very rôle of trade unionism. In all our work in both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, the above approach has governed our policy and activities. Striking confirmation of this can be had in the ranks and leadership of such progressive unions as the United Automobile Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Everywhere, in regard to union questions, our members in these organizations have placed union discipline first. Nowhere have we sought to impose a "party line."

In all instances we have given our best to stimulate the class consciousness and militancy of the union members, the effectiveness of their organization, the responsibility

of the leadership, an advanced position of the officialdom on social and political questions, the education of the membership, and the discipline of its ranks. For example, in the U.A.W.A. we have contributed considerably toward the organization's intelligently edited trade union paper, a mass militant woman's auxiliary, a position of vigorous hostility to the war-makers and rejection of their war plans under the guise of "collective security." In Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. we have contributed the decisive leadership toward the development of model unionism in the economic, political, and cultural fields.

In both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. we work energetically for trade union democracy in the ranks of each international union and for autonomy for each international body. We do so not merely to insure the development of self-reliance among the workers but also because we desire to avoid in this country the fatal overcentralization which afflicted the German and Austrian trade union movements and facilitated the triumph of Hitlerism. At a moment when every element of democracy is endangered by the mounting tides of totalitarian tyranny, it would be fatal for organized labor to set up an authoritarian regime or resort to supercentralization in its own edifice. Labor can never defend genuine democracy against the forces of reaction unless the fullest and freest democracy prevails in its own ranks.

Finally, with unemployment a permanent feature of so-called prosperity as well as depression times, we consider it vital for the trade unions to organize their own unemployed members strictly under their own auspices. The unions can thus obtain adequate relief for their jobless members as well as preserve their organization in times of acutest distress.

2. FOR TRADE UNION UNITY. We are for the speedi-

est unification of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. into one trade union movement on the basis of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries and the preservation of autonomy for the various international component bodies of both federations. The problem of trade union unity is most immediate and urgent. Today continuous dissension in the trade union movement paralyzes labor's power politically, cripples it economically, and invites dangerous government intervention and legislation. This division is all the more costly today because the forces of big business reaction are working overtime for an assault on the rights of labor and on social legislation. Trade union disunity undermines labor's effectiveness in meeting the burning problems of the economic crisis, tends to alienate public opinion, and creates a dangerous atmosphere of hostility toward the labor movement as a whole.

As a step in the direction of complete unity of the trade union movement, we propose immediate unity of action among the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railway Brotherhoods. There are many fields where such coöperation, where such agreement, is possible despite the differences on more fundamental problems of union structure and strategy.

3. WE ARE FOR A LABOR PARTY. Independent labor political action through a Labor party based on the trade unions, but including also the farm organizations and friendly middle-class forces, is the next historical step in the development of American working-class political consciousness. In the ranks of labor there is growing a realization of the need for active participation in politics as an independent force. Witness the development of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor party, the Illinois Labor party, and the labor tickets set up during elections in a number of important industrial

centers. This movement is still burdened with misconceptions, born out of decades of dependence upon employing-class political parties. This explains why all too often this movement begins on false paths and commits costly errors—futile and self-defeating attempts to capture political power through old party primaries and shoddy deals with old party machines.

We give wholehearted, though often critical, support to this trend toward a labor party despite all its limitations and shortcomings. We do so because we see in it the first step toward a complete separation by labor from the old parties of capitalism, the first step toward the crystallization of labor as an independent, distinct, class force. To us the Labor party is, therefore, the very antithesis of the People's Front, which seeks to blur class lines, to vitiate labor's independence, to diffuse labor's rôle as a distinct force.

4. FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION. The hub of all our activities and policies is independent working-class action against employing class reaction. With us it is cardinal that in the long run, the workers can depend upon nothing but their own organized strength. The more the workers learn to fight militantly and to depend upon themselves, the more will they be able to wring concessions from the government and the employers, and the more readily will they be able to secure the coöperation and the support of other sections of the population, such as the farmers and the urban middle classes, in a common struggle against big capital.

Precisely because we stand for working-class independence do we consistently and firmly oppose political alliances with parties of the capitalist class along the lines of the People's Front, the original model of which is the French Government headed by Daladier—now feverishly at work preparing the ground for fascism

in France. Instead of strengthening the power of mass resistance to fascism and reaction, such alliances make the workers dependent upon the agencies of the biggest capitalists, convert the workers' organizations into auxiliaries of the employing class, cripple the organized might of labor, sow confusion, and foster disillusionment among the masses. In summary, this policy substantially strengthens reaction and paves the way for the triumph of fascism. As against the People's Front, we propose a united workers' front and a militant farmer-labor alliance, with the broadest middle-class support, on the basis of immediate issues and common interests in the common fight against a common enemy—big industrial and finance capital.

5. FOR A LABOR PROGRAM OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION. In the United States, federal social legislation is still in its early stages. Though American capitalism has been in crisis for some time, it still has far greater resources at its command than European capitalism and, therefore, can afford such remedial measures, inadequate though they are in a fundamental sense.

Hence, labor should spare no pains in correcting the grave defects of the Federal Social Security Act, should resist with all energy the multiplying efforts to put open-shop teeth into the Wagner Act and the developing movement to limit the right to organize, strike, and picket. There is very much to be done for the enactment of adequate legislation to raise the rock-bottom minimum wages and to lower the maximum hours of work. An annual wage and vacations with pay are urgent for labor's minimum welfare. In the face of the grave and permanent character of the unemployment problem, the inadequacy of the present relief system and its standards cries for immediate practical improvement. Public housing and socially useful public works can prove

worthy palliatives to alleviate distress and, at the same time, replace the vast armament program offered by the militarists and jingoes as a road to recovery.

All labor must strive for full economic, social, and political equality for the Negro people, for promptest enactment of vigorous antilynching legislation, for the abolition of the color lines in the unions and all racial segregation and discrimination. Otherwise, labor as a whole will find it extremely difficult to defend the democratic rights of free speech, press, and assembly, to prohibit the use of militia as strikebreakers, and to liberate class-war prisoners like Mooney, Billings, Soderberg, and the Scottsboro victims. To facilitate the enactment of such a program of social legislation, it is vital for labor to support all efforts to make the government structure more responsive to the will and needs of the masses.

6. FIGHT FASCISM, ENEMY NUMBER 1 OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. We do not rely on partnerships with parties and agencies of "democracy" and big capital in the fight against fascism. It is the People's Front government of France that invented the so-called nonintervention—blockade pact against Loyalist Spain. While Roosevelt talks of "quarantining aggressors" his government permits and facilitates a huge sale of war supplies to Japan and maintains a rigid embargo against republican Spain. Hence, we call on labor to close its ranks, engage in militant struggle against all reaction, and to solicit the support of those middle-class people who are ready for an earnest fight against fascism, anti-Semitism, race prejudice, and superpatriotism, and to express material as well as moral solidarity with all antifascist forces in Europe and elsewhere.

7. AGAINST UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM, MILITARISM, AND IMPERIALIST WAR. The Independent Labor

League of America is against any war conducted by a capitalist government in Washington because such a war can be only reactionary and for imperialist ends. Therefore, we are against the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration with its gigantic armament program and its systematic preparations for a head-on collision with the Japanese colossus in the Far East in defense of Wall Street's investments there. We view the call for "collective security" as a guarantor of peace merely as a shibboleth for mobilizing the workers for war. We are pledged against the "industrial mobilization" plan aiming to subject American labor to a military dictatorship in war time and opening the road to fascism.

We have been ready and eager to coöperate, on the basis of an acceptable common program, with all forces genuinely opposed to war. That is the basis of our participation in the "Keep America out of War" movement. We underscore the fact that, to be really effective, such a movement must be a broad, all-inclusive, people's movement rooted in the working class and its organizations, especially the trade unions.

It is our conviction that since war today is nothing but the logical expression of the sharpening international antagonisms created by imperialism, its danger can be most effectively overcome by relentless class struggle against capitalism as a system. This struggle by labor cannot stop with the outbreak of war. When war does break out, labor must continue the struggle in a new and more intense form on a new and higher plane—transformed into a revolutionary fight to the bitter end against the war-making regime. To us, the antiwar policy advanced over thirty years ago by the great International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart and so energetically applied by Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and other international socialists in the last world war, still

holds good for the coming world war. Likewise, we are not fooled by loud talk about "good neighborliness." Dollar diplomacy still dominates American foreign policy. Seeking to mobilize the broadest popular support against the financial imperialism of American big business, we work for the withdrawal of all American naval and military forces from colonial and semi-colonial regions and the unrestricted right of self-determination for all United States colonies and possessions.

8. FOR THE SOVIET UNION. The danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union has become especially grave since the Munich pact was sealed. We emphasize that the Soviet state, despite its present very serious bureaucratic distortions, is a working-class state in the economic sense and socialistic in its foundations. In international labor solidarity and militant class struggle rather than in nonaggression pacts with imperialist powers, do we see the best and most adequate means of defending the Soviet Union, its socialist achievements, and the very spirit of the October revolution.

We maintain that the ruthless autocratic Stalin clique, which has now outlived whatever historical usefulness it once may have had, is blocking all efforts at advancing Soviet democracy. This regime is undermining the Soviet power in its economic and political foundations, lowering the prestige of the U.S.S.R. in the international arena, and weakening the Soviet republic's defense. Through its policy of transferring the tactics of Soviet diplomacy to the international labor movement, through its policy of determining the program of action of the various sections of the Communist International on the basis of the exigencies and maneuvers of Soviet foreign policy, the Stalin regime has further weakened the first line of defense of the U.S.S.R. itself—the international labor movement. For these reasons we contend that the

best interests of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet masses imperatively demand the elimination of the Stalin regime and the establishment of democracy in the soviets, trade unions, and other working-class institutions in the U.S.S.R. When such working-class democracy will be established, it will be far higher and more genuine for the great masses of the people, because of its socialist roots, than are so-called democracies under capitalism.

9. FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR ACTION. The Independent Labor League of America is for close coöperation with all genuine international socialist forces throughout the world in the struggle against capitalism, fascism, and imperialist war. Dramatizing such coöperation was the conference of the International Revolutionary Socialist and Opposition Communist parties in Paris last February, and the establishment at the close of last September in Geneva of the International Workers Front against War. Only through the gradual extension of such collaboration among the revolutionary political organizations of labor can sound foundations be laid for a genuine revolutionary working-class International.

10. TOWARD SOCIALISM. The continuous years of crisis should convince all that we in the United States are faced with a permanent breakdown of the economic system based on private property and private profit. We grant that the future may bring some brief periods of recovery. But they will be fitful and quickly succeeded by ever deeper depressions. The decaying system is breeding evils afflicting the masses, degrading culture, and vitiating all attempts at serious reforms.

In this soil are the roots of all employing-class efforts to lower labor's living standards, to seek "strong" government capable of maintaining profit and smashing

popular opposition and ready to sustain the reactionary economic setup of a declining social system, even through a fascist regime. Fascism is the political receivership of a bankrupt economic system—the political logic of capitalism at the dead end of a permanent crisis. To escape fascism and the horrors of economic decay, we must sweep away the wreckage of capitalism and build in its place, gradually, it is true, a new social order based on the collective ownership and democratic management of the means of production—a new socio-economic system eliminating the life-sapping struggle to live and producing a life more abundant, more full, with brighter cultural and ethical values.

The great historical choice before our country, as well as before the people of other lands, is: Shall we be driven backwards to fascism in order to maintain a tottering system, or shall we work planfully toward socialism?

We have traced the road to new frontiers, higher social frontiers, for labor. Socialism is our only hope for the future. But to remove the decaying structure of capitalism and to replace it with this new social order, it is necessary to develop the class consciousness of labor with a view to setting up a workers' government, a genuine democracy of, by, and for the working masses. The Independent Labor League of America declares that the great historical task confronting the workers of this country today is to organize themselves as a class striving to win political power and to secure a progressive, healthy, social transformation. This is the road that we propose for labor. We are confident that the American working class will not falter in its long uphill fight for a better life until it achieves the society without classes or class oppression, until it attains a new social order making for peace, progress, and well-being.

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